

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" Sir Thomas Webster having represented the town of Colchester in what was called the Pensioned Parliament of Charles II. became so disgusted with the parliamentary depravity of that body, as to take a resolution to abandon them and the cause of the people in that house, where he saw no possibility of either opposing the despotic measures of the court, or supporting the liberties of his country. He wrote, accordingly, a letter to his constituents on the election of the first parliament of James II. which met on the 21st March, 1685, declining the representation of a people, whose delegated legislature was converted into an engine of despotism, by the corrupt ministers of an arbitrary king, and requesting them to choose another representative; he then absented himself from the town and its connections." On the day of election, however, his former constituents, with a virtue and manliness of conduct peculiar to real independence, resolved to re-elect their old member, whose integrity they had tried, and whose attachment to the cause of liberty was not to be shaken. Without solicitation, therefore, or expense, and even without his own acquiescence, Sir Thomas was again deputed the assertor of their rights in parliament."—*HISTORY OF THE BOROUGHES*, Vol. II. p. 19.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.—This contest was, I thought, as far as related to the choosing of Sir Francis Burdett, a thing quite without example in our history; but, as will be perceived from the motto to the present sheet, there is upon record one other instance of the kind; and, it is with great satisfaction that I find myself in a situation to revive and widely to circulate the knowledge of a fact so honourable to the country. "*The Pensioned Parliament*" of the Stuarts has ever been an object of just execration. The flagrant parliamentary corruptions of those times were, as was stated in my first letter to Mr. Perceval, the great cause of those discontents which finally produced the *revolution or change* in 1688, only three years previous to which the above-recorded instance of public virtue was exhibited to the nation. And, indeed, the rapidity of the progress was quite natural; for, either the corruptions of the parliament must have been destroyed, or the people must have become, in person as well as in property, the slaves, the absolute slaves, of their tyrannical and traitorous masters. All the names and all the forms of freedom and justice were in full use, the same as at any former period: but, if the substance was gone; if the House of Commons, instead of being freely chosen by the people, and thereby becoming their real representatives and the faithful guardians of their property, was a packed assembly, in the choice of whom the people had no real voice, and who, instead of guarding their property, became themselves their cruellest plunderers, never seriously disagreeing in any thing except in the division of the plunder; if, in a word, they became a gang of robbers instead of a body of faithful stewards, of what use were the

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names and forms of freedom and of justice except that of amusing the people,—except that of rendering them silent under the weight of their sufferings? This was felt deeply by the people of England, at the time here referred to; and, accordingly, when, in consequence of that feeling, they had driven the guilty king, the ostensible author of their misery and disgrace, from the throne, and, along with him, his still more guilty advisers, they, including all the virtuous part of the nobility, formed a determination to guard themselves, in future, against similar evils. They declared, and they caused to be enacted, that the principal cause of their proceeding to such extremities, was, the corruption of parliament, and they provided by law, that, thereafter, no man holding a place or pension under the crown should be a member of the House of Commons. And, surely, they were right. They wished not to *destroy*, but to *preserve*. They had been taught, by experience, that a kingly form of government, limited by law as to the extent of its power, was that which was most congenial to the temper of Englishmen. To the support of a kingly form of government they regarded an hereditary nobility, *having its root in distinguished and acknowledged public services and virtues*, as essentially necessary. These, therefore, they wisely resolved to maintain; but, they perceived, that, if the king was rendered absolute by the means of a "*pensioned parliament*," that, if by these silent means, he was enabled to seize on their property and to violate their personal freedom, at his pleasure, it was of no consequence to them whether the names and forms of freedom and justice were retained, or abolished. Indeed, they seem to have perceived, that it was, rather than other-

wise, injurious to retain them; for, that, to keep up the use of those names and forms, was to delude the people, and that it was better that the despotism should stand openly exposed to their execration. They saw, that they exposed themselves to great risk in an attempt to overthrow the base tyranny by which they were oppressed; they were not without apprehensions as to the consequences of a struggle against such deep-rooted corruption, and, as clearly appears from all the authentic documents of that critical period, there were not a few amongst the most virtuous public characters, who hesitated between their hatred of the oppressors and their fear of producing confusion. They also had to encounter the calumnious accusations of the innumerable swarm who fattened upon the plunder of the people; and, it was a fact not to be disguised, that, as the powers of the state, the mighty powers of the state, all the engines of accusation and of punishment, were in the hands of the tyrant and his advisers, the dangers to the first movers, even anticipating ultimate success, were of fearful magnitude. Yet, with all this before them, but considering that no great evil of any sort could ever be removed without some danger in the remedy, did our wise, our brave, and virtuous ancestors, undertake, and, through a long series of struggles, as well against legal hypocrisy as against lawless power, at last arrive at the time, when they saw the crown of these realms happily and safely placed upon the heads of the House of Brunswick, where, under the limitations so clearly settled by the constitution, and so essential to the freedom and happiness of the people, every good man must wish it to remain in undisturbed and unmaligned enjoyment.—From this digression, into which I have been led by reflections arising from a perusal of my motto, I now return to the recent Westminster Election, to record the principal transactions relating to which, and more especially to record the principles of the electors and the elected, is my present object. I shall, therefore, begin by inserting the already published addresses of SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, the account of the ELECTORS' COMMITTEE, and the addresses of LORD COCHRANE.

—
Sir Francis Burdett's Address to the Freeholders of the County of Middlesex on the Dissolution of Parliament.

"Gentlemen;—After what has lately passed in review before us, it is impossible to shut our eyes to the actual situation of our country: and as impossi-

ble to imagine that any efforts of ours can at this time procure redress.—Lord Melville, with his associates and abettors, under the pretence of Loyalty; and the leaders of the Whigs, under the pretence of the Constitution; and the leaders of the Catholics, under the pretence of Religion, are all evidently struggling for one and the same object—a share of the common spoil. Whilst the whole-some Power of the Crown, the fair Liberty of the Subject, and the real interest of any Religion, are all sacrificed to the common object—Plunder.—Of the rights of the People at large, and of their welfare and independence, not a syllable is even whispered by any of these factions: and any attempt by others to bring the People or their Interests into consideration, is stigmatised as treason.—In this desperate situation of our affairs (for such I esteem it) I cannot consent to become a candidate for any seat in Parliament.—With the omnipotent means of corruption in the power of our spoilers, all struggle is vain. We must wait for our redress and regeneration till corruption shall have exhausted the means of corruption; and I do not believe that period very distant, the present ministers being most likely to be our best friends by hastening it.—Till that time shall arrive, I beg leave to retire from all parliamentary service; without the least abatement of zeal for the rights and liberties of my countrymen, to which I will always be ready to sacrifice my own interests, in any manner, whenever there shall appear the smallest prospect of success.—I am, Gentlemen, with respect and gratitude, Your faithful Servant,
FRANCIS BURDETT."—April 28, 1807.

—
Proceedings of the Committee for conducting Sir Francis Burdett's Election.

"The committee appointed by You to conduct the election of Sir Francis Burdett, having found, with great pleasure, that you have given the countenance and support of your vote to the nomination of that illustrious friend to his country, beg leave to congratulate you on the success of your exertions in the cause of liberty, and to present you with the following Report.—SAMUEL BROOKS, Chairman.
—*Britannia Coffee-house, 25th May, 1807.*"

"*Britannia Coffee-house, Covent Garden, 23d May, 1807.*"

"At a meeting of the Committee appointed by the Electors of Westminster to con-

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“ duct the election of Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. Mr. Samuel Brooks, in the Chair: It was resolved

“ That as those who are naturally the enemies of freedom at elections, have endeavoured to misrepresent the circumstances under which was undertaken the enterprise that has led to the glorious result, for the purpose of celebrating which we are, with other friends of purity of election, about to be assembled, it is necessary that we make a record of those circumstances, and also of the progress of our efforts, together with a Declaration of the Principles by which we have been, and still are actuated.—We therefore Declare,—I. That, on the 29th day of April, a deputation of the free and independent electors of the city and liberties of Westminster, regarding Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. as the man distinguished above all others for public virtue, and having witnessed his long, arduous, and disinterested endeavours, to cause to be restored to the people of England those rights and liberties, that security for person and property, which their forefathers enjoyed, applied to him to become a candidate for their city, at the then ensuing election.—II. That, to this application, Sir Francis Burdett answered, “ That he thought it impossible for him to render any service to the electors or to the country, and that to become a candidate under such circumstances was only to aid in the delusion.” That the deputation then asked Sir Francis, “ Whether, if elected without his interference, he would accept the seat, and attend his duty in Parliament?” To which he replied, “ Certainly, this is the right way; electors ought to seek repre-

“ sentatives, not candidates solicit electors: “ If I should be returned for Westminster, for Middlesex, or any other place, I must, and certainly shall obey the call, and I will do the duty of a faithful Steward; but I will not spend a guinea, nor do any thing whatever, to contribute to such election.”—III. That, upon this Answer being communicated to a meeting of electors, it was resolved to put Sir Francis Burdett in nomination at the Hustings, which was accordingly done on the day of election, by Mr. Francis Glossop, whose proposition was seconded by Mr. William Adams.—IV. That the committee, which had been previously formed, opened a public subscription, for the purpose of defraying the expences of the committee-room, of printing, of messengers, and of several other things indispensably necessary; and that a list of the subscriptions, including names and sums, has been correctly kept, and is ready for inspection—V. That, from the first to the last, the committee made use of no means whatever to give an undue bias to the mind of any elector, appealed to no prejudice, had recourse to nothing tending to flatter or to terrify, to soothe or to inflame; but, as being perfectly consonant to the wishes of Sir Francis Burdett, addressed themselves, in language unvarnished, to the plain good sense and public spirit of the electors, leaving them to follow the dictates of their own consciences, and uniformly and decidedly rejecting every overture for a coalition, in whatever manner made, and from whatever quarter proceeding.—VI. That there have been polled, at this election,

	SINGLE VOTES	SPLIT VOTES WITH					TOTAL.
		<i>Burdett.</i>	<i>Cochrane</i>	<i>Elliott.</i>	<i>Sheridan.</i>	<i>Paull.</i>	
COCHRANE	632	1423	—	1264	374	15	3708
ELLIOTT	438	286	1264	—	145	4	2137
SHERIDAN	592	1527	374	145	—	7	2645
PAULL	17	226	15	4	7	—	269
BURDETT	1679	3462	1653	1413	526	26	8759
	1672	—	1423	286	1527	226	5134
Single Votes . . .							13893
		1672	632	438	592	17	3351
	3351	5134	3708	2137	2645	269	10542
							5271

“ From which it appears that 3851
 “ electors have given single votes at this
 “ election; that 5271 electors have given
 “ double votes, making together 8622 elec-
 “ tors polled at this election, and that in spite
 “ of all the weight of power, of undue and
 “ corrupt influence, and of a calumniating
 “ hired daily press, Sir Francis Burdett has
 “ received as many single votes (within 7)
 “ as ALL the other candidates put together.—
 “ VII. That this result, while it is grati-
 “ fying in itself, is still more so, when ac-
 “ companied with reflections on that state of
 “ things, when the electors of Westminster,
 “ attached to Names, and inattentive to
 “ Principles, became the mere instruments
 “ of the treasury, and of the great Aristoc-
 “ ratical Families, who, by an amicable
 “ compromise, each put in a member; and
 “ thus, as to all practical purposes connect-
 “ ed with the elective franchise, had reduc-
 “ ed this great and enlightened city to a
 “ level with the rottenest of the numerous
 “ rotten boroughs.—VIII. That, as to our
 “ Principles, they are those of the constitu-
 “ tion of England, and none other; that it
 “ is declared by the Bill of Rights, that one
 “ of the crimes for which the tyrant James
 “ was driven from the throne, was interfer-
 “ ing, by his ministers, in the election of
 “ members of parliament; that, by the
 “ same great standard of our liberties, it
 “ is declared, that the election of mem-
 “ bers of parliament ought to be free;
 “ that, by the act which transferred the
 “ crown of this kingdom from the heads of
 “ the house of Stuart to the heads of the
 “ house of Brunswick, it is provided, that
 “ for the better securing of the liberties of
 “ the subject, no person holding a place or
 “ pension under the crown shall be a mem-
 “ ber of the house of commons; that these
 “ are our principles; and that, as we are
 “ convinced, that all the notorious pecula-
 “ tion, that all the prodigal waste of the
 “ public money, that all the intolerable
 “ burthens and vexations therefrom arising,
 “ that all the oppression from within and all
 “ the danger from without, proceed from a
 “ total abandonment of these great constitu-
 “ tional principles, we hold it to be our
 “ bounden duty to use all the legal means in
 “ our power, collectively and individually,
 “ to restore those principles to practice.—
 “ IX. That though we are fully convinced,
 “ that, as the natural consequence of the
 “ measures pursued for the last sixteen
 “ years, our country is threatened with im-
 “ minent danger from the foe which Eng-
 “ lishmen once despised; and that, though
 “ we trust there is not a man of us who

“ would not freely lay down his life to pre-
 “ serve the independence of his country, yet
 “ we hesitate not to declare, that we see no
 “ danger to us so great, no scourge so much
 “ to be dreaded, as a packed and corrupt
 “ house of commons, whose votes, not less
 “ merciless, and more insulting, than a
 “ conqueror's edicts, would bereave us of all
 “ that renders country dear, and life worth
 “ preserving; and that, too, under the
 “ names and forms of law and justice,—
 “ under those very names, and those very
 “ forms, which yielded security to the
 “ persons and property of our forefathers.
 “ X. That in choosing Sir Francis Bur-
 “ dett as our representative and steward,
 “ we have, as far as rested with us, taken
 “ care to prevent the existence of such a
 “ house of commons; that we trust our
 “ example will, when occasion serves,
 “ have due weight with electors in ge-
 “ neral; and that, by our united exer-
 “ tions, the blessings of the constitution will
 “ be restored, the just prerogatives of the
 “ crown, as limited by law, secured; an-
 “ cient and well-earned nobility supported,
 “ and the rights and liberties of the people
 “ established upon solid foundations.—
 “ XI. That this declaration be signed by the
 “ chairman of the committee, and that they
 “ be published.—(Signed) SAMUEL BROOKS,
 “ chairman.”

*Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand,
 23d May, 1807.*

“ At a numerous meeting of the friends
 “ of Sir Francis Burdett, bart., convened by
 “ advertisement to celebrate his election for
 “ Westminster, Joseph Clayton Jennings,
 “ Esq. in the chair:
 “ Resolved, That the report of the com-
 “ mittee, appointed to conduct the election
 “ of Sir Francis Burdett be read.—It was
 “ accordingly read.—Resolved unanimously,
 “ that this meeting agrees with the commit-
 “ tee for conducting the election of Sir
 “ Francis Burdett, in the declaration read
 “ to them from the chair; that they concur
 “ in the great constitutional points on which
 “ the committee has founded its conduct;
 “ and that they beg the committee to accept
 “ their sincerest thanks for the communica-
 “ tion.—Resolved unanimously, that an
 “ anniversary of the glorious triumph of the
 “ electors of Westminster, by the election
 “ of Sir Francis Burdett, be held at this
 “ house on the 23d day of May.—(Signed)
 “ J. CLAYTON JENNINGS, chairman.—Re-
 “ solved unanimously, that the thanks of
 “ this meeting be given to Mr. Jennings,
 “ for his discreet, spirited, and able con-

“ duct during the election.—(Signed) WIL-
“ LIAM JONES BURDETT.”

*Sir Francis Burdett's Address to the Electors
of Westminster, after the Election.*

“ Gentlemen;—next to the consciousness
“ of endeavouring sincerely to serve my coun-
“ try, nothing can be more pleasing to my
“ mind than the public approbation of my en-
“ deavours. Accept my grateful thanks.—At
“ the same time forgive me for feeling some-
“ thing like despair of any good to the
“ country; whilst I see the regular expences
“ of corruption greatly exceed all the ex-
“ pences necessary for any war, which we
“ can be justified in pursuing: whilst I see
“ attempts to delude the public mind, by
“ COMPARATIVELY petty and insignificant
“ inquiries into what is termed PECULA-
“ TION; whilst those inquirers themselves
“ think it not dishonourable to seize greedily
“ every opportunity of enriching them-
“ selves out of the public spoil, by any other
“ means not termed by them PECULATION.
“ —Such wretched notions of public honor
“ and honesty can afford no signal benefit to
“ the public, nor can give us any suitable
“ redress. They appear to me to resemble
“ the notion of chastity entertained by the
“ prostitute, who boldly challenged any
“ one to say, that she ever went out of
“ the regiment. According to them, all
“ within the regiment, all within the RED
“ BOOK is honourable and virtuous. And
“ they insult us by declaring that they have
“ as good a title by the RED BOOK, as any
“ of the people can have to the fruits of
“ their industry, or to the inheritance of
“ their ancestors; from which industry,
“ and from which inheritance, be it re-
“ membered, and from them alone, the
“ RED BOOK itself takes every thing that
“ it has to bestow. So that they pretend as
“ good a right to all which they can contrive
“ to take from us, as we have to the re-
“ mainder—till they can take that too.—
“ Gentlemen, figure to yourselves a gang of
“ robbers combined to plunder the peaceable
“ and industrious inhabitants of several
“ surrounding parishes; and agreeing a-
“ mongst themselves to share the booty in
“ such different proportions as the leader of
“ the gang shall appoint to each. From
“ time to time it will happen that some
“ thief or other amongst them will purloin
“ a part of the booty, and clandestinely ap-
“ propriate to himself more than his ap-
“ pointed share. The purloiner is detect-
“ ed: and the gang with open mouths ex-
“ claim against the atrocity of cheating—
“ the regiment; the only crime of the kind

“ which they acknowledge to be so. Would
“ it not be ridiculous in these plundered pa-
“ rishes to take any part in such a dispute;
“ and to divide themselves into strong par-
“ ties for the accusers or the accused?
“ As long as the thieves in common take all
“ they can seize, what is it to the plunder-
“ ed people who share the booty? how they
“ share it? and in what proportions? Ought
“ they not rather to destroy the gang and
“ abolish the combination?—Such is my
“ conception of the different corrupt mi-
“ nisters we have seen, and their corrupt
“ adherents. And unless the public with an
“ united voice, shall loudly pronounce the
“ abolition of the WHOLE of the present
“ SYSTEM OF CORRUPTION, I must
“ still continue to despair of my country.—
“ You, Gentlemen, by this unparalleled
“ election, have loudly pronounced your
“ sentiments. May your voice be echoed
“ through the land.—In the mean time,
“ though an individual is almost as nothing
“ in the scale, I will carry with me your
“ sentiments into the House of Commons.
“ And I assure you that no rational endeavours
“ of mine shall be omitted to restore
“ to my countrymen the undisturbed en-
“ joyment of the fair fruits of their industry;
“ to tear out the accursed leaves of that scan-
“ dalous RED BOOK; and to bring back
“ men's minds to the almost forgotten no-
“ tions of the sacredness of private property;
“ which ought no longer to be transferred
“ from the legitimate possessors by the cor-
“ rupt votes of venal and mercenary com-
“ binations—I will continue, Gentlemen,
“ disinterestedly faithful to the interests of
“ my country; and endeavour to prove
“ myself your zealous representative.—
“ FRANCIS BURDETT. May 23d. 1807.”

*Lord Cochrane's First Address to the Electors
of Westminster.*

“ Gentlemen,
“ An explicit declaration of the principles
“ of every Candidate for the Suffrages of
“ free People, is indispensable to the free-
“ dom of Election. The Electors should
“ be aware of the line of conduct intended
“ to be pursued, in order that they may at
“ once approve or reject the Candidate;
“ having deliberately weighed his character,
“ and considered the probability of his for-
“ feiting the solemn pledge he gives to his
“ country.—I shall be as brief as possible
“ in the declaration of my principles. Mea-
“ sures favourable to the interests of the
“ country I will support, let them be
“ brought forward by whom they may;
“ those hostile, or urged by factions mo-

“tives, I will oppose, without any view to
 “advantage, or dread of injury.—I am not
 “one of those who are of opinion that per-
 “sons should withdraw from the service
 “of their country in despair. Men actu-
 “ated by the dictates of conscience, who
 “scorn to be ranked among the great pau-
 “pers of the nation, and by sinecures and
 “unmerited pensions to drain the resources
 “of their country, may do much good,
 “even if their abilities are small. Sophis-
 “try is not required to prove a truth: sub-
 “tle arguments may be used to establish
 “the reverse. Is it absolutely impractica-
 “ble that a Member of the House of Com-
 “mons can pursue a line of conduct wholly
 “independant? It has been said that a
 “man who does not link himself to the
 “chains of some party is a mere cypher in
 “that House: that the measures he may
 “propose (however beneficial) will be re-
 “jected by both, because they do not ori-
 “ginate with either. Let us hope that
 “this is not the case.—An important appeal
 “is at this crisis made to the country, and
 “the whole body of Electors of the United
 “Kingdom must decide. On a late occa-
 “sion I gave a vote against an abstract
 “proposition, because I viewed it in its
 “consequences. It tended to throw a
 “blame, where no blame was due. It
 “was connected with an approval of the
 “Catholic Bill, which I considered not
 “only inadequate to its purpose, but pro-
 “ductive of religious dissensions in the na-
 “val service, to which my attention has
 “been devoted. What would be the situa-
 “tion of our country with a Catholic dispo-
 “ser of our commissions and rewards?
 “Religious motives are more powerful than
 “other motives. In judging from what
 “has passed, I did dread the future. These,
 “Gentlemen, were the reasons for the con-
 “duct I pursued,—not a deficiency of zeal
 “for our fellow subjects of the Catholic
 “persuasion.—Gentlemen, I unequivocally
 “avow my intention to stand unconnected
 “with any of the Candidates who have
 “declared themselves. It is not a seat in
 “Parliament that I am desirous to obtain;
 “it is the distinguished honour of represen-
 “ting your popular City, elected by the
 “votes of unbiassed freemen, having con-
 “fidence in the man they send to Parlia-
 “ment.—My professional life may be
 “known to some of you, and I am aware
 “that it has been objected, that a Naval
 “Officer liable to be called from his consti-
 “tuents is unfit to attend to their interests,
 “and to perform his duty in Parliament.
 “To this I answer, that it is requisite there
 “should be in the House of Commons

“professional men as well as others, in
 “order that information may be given on
 “matters frequently the subject of discus-
 “sion, by those who from actual service,
 “and recent impressions, can give correct
 “intelligence; and I answer also, that one
 “zealous in the performance of his duty,
 “may be of more real service to his coun-
 “try, than a Member who (though always
 “on the spot) is devoted to his private oc-
 “cupations.—Rest assured, Gentlemen,
 “that if I should be so fortunate as to suc-
 “ceed in attaining my object, you will find
 “that I have not made professions without
 “a full intention to perform them.—I
 “shall not willingly be deficient in the per-
 “sonal respect I feel most anxious to shew
 “to you individually, by soliciting your
 “Votes and Interest in my favour, as far
 “as it is in my power. Your liberality
 “will induce you to attribute any omission
 “to the difficulties I must encounter; which,
 “I am confident, will be overcome by that
 “independant spirit that has ever character-
 “ised the City of Westminster. I have
 “the honor to be, Gentlemen, with the
 “greatest respect, &c. COCHRANE. *Har-
 “ley-Street, April 29, 1807.*”

*Lord Cochrane's Address to the Electors of
 Westminster after the Election.*

“Gentlemen,—Unknown to you as I was
 but only a few days ago, and deceived as
 you have been by the professions of many,
 with whose very hearts you thought your-
 selves acquainted, it would be too much in
 me to presume that your minds are quite
 free from apprehensions with regard to my
 motives; and if the time were more distant
 when these motives must be developed, this
 reflection would, I confess, leave great un-
 easiness on my mind. But, Gentlemen,
 those motives must, if I live but a very
 short time, be rendered manifest, and in
 the prospect of that manifestation, I wait
 with perfect confidence of being firmly es-
 tablished in your esteem, which I value far
 beyond any thing that can be bestowed.—
 Did I consider great oratorical talents as be-
 ing indispensibly necessary in a Member of
 Parliament, I certainly should not have
 sought a seat in that Assembly; but, the
 observation of my life has convinced me,
 that the public evils which I wish to see re-
 medied, proceed more from the want of
 integrity, than from the want of talents of
 any sort; and still more from the want of
 that moderation of mind which teaches a
 man to content himself with little, either
 of wealth or power, and which renders
 him proof against those blandishments

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and intrigues, that have by degrees corrupted so many honest hearts to the core.—No two men, of independent minds, ever yet were found to be in exact coincidence upon every point admitting of discussion; and, therefore, Gentlemen, you, who have given proof of so much good sense and independence of spirit, will not be surprized, if, as to some matters, my sentiments, and of course my vote may be found opposite to that of my colleague; nor can I, from my present comparative unacquaintance with parliamentary concerns, promise that my exertions will be, in their effect, equal to his; but, this I promise you, Gentlemen, that, in whatever relates to the preventing of a waste of the public money, in whatever relates to a restoration of the blessings of the constitution, and particularly those connected with the freedom of election, (which I trust on this occasion has been preserved), and the consequent purity and independence of the House of Commons, you shall find me, in point of endeavour at least, not inferior to any member that ever has had, or ever will have, a seat in that House.—With a due sense of the important duty imposed upon me, with a firm resolution conscientiously to discharge that duty, and with an anxious hope that I shall be able in some degree to contribute towards your prosperity and happiness, and the good of my country, I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your devoted humble servant,
 COCHRANE. *Harley street, May 23, 1807.*—

The first observation that it is necessary to make, is, that Mr. Elliott declined the contest on the eleventh day; and that Mr. Paull in fact, declined it on the second, though his friends kept the poll open until the sixth day.—That any thing should have happened to prevent Mr. Paull's sharing in the triumph with Sir Francis Burdett, I lament, and must always lament; but, with the exception of certain hasty expressions, the natural effect of those passions which, for a time, overcome reason and justice, the Committee of the Electors, are entitled to the highest degree of praise that language can bestow; and, the Committee of Mr. Paull deserve equal praise, except in what related to their having endeavoured to prevent the election of Sir Francis Burdett; in which, as it was an endeavour to gratify their personal revenge at the expense of the public cause, they can never be justified, an endeavour, however, which I never, for a moment, imputed to Mr. Paull himself. At any rate, supposing perfect reconciliation, whether between the principals or their friends, to be improbable, I hope to see no attempts

made to widen the breach, and to render that impossible which is now only improbable. It is very easy to be patriotic where there is no feeling to subdue, no interest to sacrifice; but, if a man would convince me of his real love to his country, he must give me such proofs of love as are expected and required in private life; namely, a willingness and a readiness to yield, to forbear, and to forgive; for, where these are not to be found, there may be a love of self-gratification, but there can be none of any other sort. Attempts have been made, not by the principals themselves, nor, indeed, by any known bearer of their wishes, to induce me to take a part in the quarrel; but this I, from the first, resolved not to do; and, though it should be out of my power to prevent it, I am immovably determined, that, if the quarrel be to be revived and perpetuated, the fault shall in no degree, be mine. I was not a party in its origin, and I will be no party in its continuation.—Leaving this quarrel, never more to be mentioned by me, I shall now proceed to make some remarks upon the false and malignant interpretation, which has, by the hireling prints, been given to Sir Francis Burdett's last address, taking, as a sufficient specimen, a paragraph in the *Morning Post* of the 27th instant. “It is now understood, that the *chairing of Sir Francis Burdett is to take place on the day of the meeting of parliament, and that as a further insult, he is to be conveyed in triumph, by the mob, to the Grand Council of that Nation, which in his cowardice and his treason, he wished to lay at the feet of a foreign invader, and whose envied constitution he now calls upon the people to destroy. It will, however, be a question for parliament to decide, whether a man of such principles, who has at length thrown off the delusive mask of patriotism, and presented himself in the undisguised character of a Revolutionary Demagogue, be a fit and proper person to occupy a seat in the great Constitutional Council of the British Empire.* Certain it is, that the records of the House of Commons afford many examples of persons being expelled the Senate for offences comparatively harmless and insignificant, and in times, too, when Europe was undisturbed by the machinations of the worst description of mankind, and Great Britain enjoyed an enviable state of tranquillity, which the designs of the wicked alone have been able to interrupt. To this question, we shall probably ere long, be induced to turn our serious attention.—In the mean time,

“ it may not be unnecessary for us to
 “ afford some elucidation of what we
 “ have already said, in respect to the
 “ means by which his partizans have
 “ succeeded in forcing him into the repre-
 “ sentation of Westminster. Whatever as-
 “ sertions we have made upon this subject,
 “ we can be at no loss to prove. The proof
 “ can only expose those whose names and
 “ descriptions we have it in our power to
 “ lay before the public: though we would
 “ do it with reluctance, *because from the*
 “ *numerous applications already made to us,*
 “ *since the appearance of Sir F. Burdett's*
 “ *address, we see that many of those, who as*
 “ *tradesmen, aspire to any thing like respect-*
 “ *ability of character, already repent the*
 “ *blind precipitancy of their zeal, and*
 “ *anxiously deprecate the dragging of their*
 “ *names before the public, as abettors of a*
 “ *cause, now confessed to be outrageously*
 “ *disloyal and unconstitutional, by every*
 “ *one who has read the opinions addressed*
 “ *to the electors of Westminster by Sir*
 “ *Francis Burdett—opinions, which every*
 “ *man, of any character among them, must*
 “ *reject, as adding insult to ingratitude.*
 “ We cannot think of disgracing our col-
 “ umns by a detailed enumeration of all the
 “ voters in favour of Sir Francis Burdett;
 “ but the few whose names and occupations
 “ we have it in our power to give, will be
 “ fully sufficient to ascertain and charac-
 “ rise the description of persons in which
 “ his partisans should be classed.”—Now,
 the first assertion, here made, is a downright
 falsehood. Nothing at all has been settled
 upon, or even proposed, of the purport here
 stated. But, I am far from thinking, that a
 triumphal charring ought not to take place;
 and, if I were the manager of it, most assur-
 edly, I would have it on the very day of the
 opening of parliament, and would have the
 procession end (if there be no law or usage
 or legal order to the contrary) at the very
 door of the House. The king has ordered
 us to be told, that, in this dissolution of par-
 liament, he has “ *recurred to the sense of*
 “ *his people;*” the people of Westminster,
 the people of the first city in the kingdom,
 have expressed their sense in the choosing of
 Sir Francis Burdett; and, when they have
 done this by so very decided a majority, shall
 they be called a mob? Was it to a mob
 that the king appealed? And, shall the
 people be deterred from showing their re-
 gard, in any lawful manner they please, for
 the object of their choice? The hirelings
 never cease to tell us, that the times are
 critical; and shall they blame the people
 for acting as if they thought them so? They
 are continually calling upon the people to

show their *energy*; and shall they represent
 them as having designs to destroy the go-
 vernment and constitution, because they
 have shown that they felt uncommon in-
 terest in an election? Were there ever
 known popular proceedings so marked by
 tranquillity and propriety as those of the
 electors of Sir Francis Burdett? Not a sin-
 gle act of violence have they committed, or
 attempted to commit. Nothing inflammatory
 has appeared from any man of them; and
 are they now to be represented as a san-
 guinary mob, while, in almost the very
 same columns, the violences of the deluded
 rabble of Liverpool and Bristol are cited as
 marks of *loyalty* and *religion*? Indeed,
 one of the offences of the electors of West-
 minster appears to be, that they were not to
 be deluded by the hypocritical cry of “ *no*
 “ *popery.*” It is an offence, in the eyes of
 the champions of corruption, that this cry
 was justly estimated; that it was clearly
 seen to have been invented for the pur-
 pose of turning the attention of the peo-
 ple from the real grounds of the contest
 between the factions; and that, accord-
 ingly, it was treated with contempt.—
 Entitled to equal credit is the assertion,
 that some of the electors have applied to
 the editor of the Morning Post not to
 publish their names as electors of Sir Francis
 Burdett. This is another downright false-
 hood, invented for the purpose of deluding
 persons who live at a distance from London;
 for, near the spot such an assertion will
 gain no belief. The address of Sir Francis
 Burdett is perfectly in character. It is pre-
 cisely what his electors expected; and, if it
 had not excited clamours amongst the hosts
 of corruption; it would not have answered
 its purpose. “ Every one I meet,” said a
 person to me, the other day, in Oxford
 Street; “ every one I meet reprobates the
 “ address of Sir Francis Burdett.”—
 “ Which way did you come,” said I;
 “ Why,” replied he, “ from White Hall,
 “ across the Parade, through St. James's
 “ Palace, and up St. James's and Bond
 “ Street.”—“ Well, then,” added J,
 “ now go to Somerset Place, the 'Change,
 “ the India House, Lloyd's, the Custom
 “ House, and the Excise Office, and you
 “ will meet with exactly the same cry.
 “ But, when you have heard the hun-
 “ dreds at these places, then go and hear
 “ the thousands and hundreds of thou-
 “ sands in the manufactories, in the shops,
 “ in the work-shops, upon the river, and
 “ in the gardens. Go and hear those,
 “ whose labour; whose ingenuity, and
 “ whose industry in every way are taxed to
 “ support the clamorous whom you have

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heard; go hear the laborious father whose means of provision for his children is taken away by the income tax; go hear the merchant, who is compelled to make an exposure of all his most private concerns, and who, by the taxers, is frequently not believed upon his oath; go hear the numerous annuitants from whose scanty means of subsistence one-tenth is annually taken in a direct tax, while no greater a proportion is taken from the man of freehold estate; go hear, in short, all those, who have nothing but their labour, of one sort or another, to subsist on, and who have no share in the taxes; go hear these, and then come and tell me, on which side you find the majority."—Well may there be clamours against this address! Look at the Red Book. Only look at the outside of it. Look at its bulk. See it swelled to the thickness of a duodecimo bible, and wonder not that the address has excited a clamour. It is bigger than both army and navy list put together. The several lists in it comprise numbers, including relations and dependants, surpassing, perhaps, the number of persons employed in the agriculture of the kingdom. Well there may be a clamour against an address, which points to the reducing of these lists!—To deny the truth of the facts inferred by this address seems to have been, for some reason or other, thought unnecessary. It was more easy to assail it with a misinterpretation. To represent it as a declaration of a wish to over-turn the kingly government, because, forsooth, the names of the royal family are inserted in the Red Book! What a scandalous, what a base misrepresentation!—These misrepresentators know that the author of the address has no such wish, and that his address contains no such meaning. They know, that he wishes to over-turn nothing which belongs to the constitution of England. They know that his wishes are to restore and to preserve, and not to destroy. They know, that he wishes to deliver the king from the arbitrary power of any and of every faction; and that, he would not, if he had it completely in his power, deprive him of any one prerogative which the constitution has given him. It is against the factions, which, each in its turn, has ruled, by the means of a parliament, both king and people, in the manner that we have seen, that Sir Francis Burdett is at war, and not against the establishment of royalty, much less against the person of the king, to whom he has never attempted to impute any degree of blame.—It is curious to perceive how ingeniously the hirelings of the factions

find an application of every thing of this sort to the French Revolution. When I made some observations upon paragraphs published relative to the festival of the matron Jordan, at Bushy Park, these hirelings told the world, that it was *thus* that the authors of the French revolution began. Now we are told, that the attack upon the Red Book strictly resembles the attacks upon the *Livre Rouge*, which were the beginning of a revolution that finally led "an innocent and amiable king and queen to the scaffold." But, why stop here? Why stop at the death of the king and queen? Why not go on to say, "a revolution which has made France the mistress of Europe?" This trick of referring to the causes of the French revolution is as dangerous as it is malignant. But, upon the supposition, that it was by attacks upon the *Livre Rouge* that the French revolution was begun, would it not be wise to begin by times in reducing our Red Book to a bulk that would make it no longer an object of attack? *This way*, however, of securing the government, never seems to be thought of. In private life, the way to avoid the consequences of exposure and consequent animadversion, is, to cease to do that which is the subject of such exposure. Why not act upon the same principle in public matters? Why not nullify the attacks of Sir Francis Burdett, why not sew up his mouth, by removing the evils of which he complains?—He makes no attack upon the form of the government. He expresses no hostility to any established authority. He asks you to overturn nothing but abuses, which are hostile alike to all governments, and under which no government, whatever may be its form, can long exist. Indeed, he complains of nothing, which the whole nation do not, at some time or other, complain of; and of what the factions themselves, in their mutual accusations, do not complain of. We have recently heard them accuse one another of coming into office for the sole purpose of getting possession of the public money. What have they not said in this way? They have charged one another, in open parliament, with every thing, which he, even by implication, has charged them with. They have, over and over again, declared that the dissolution of parliament, in the two last instances, was for the sole purpose of effecting what he has said the ministers respectively wished to effect, and that is so well known that it need not be named here. In the several addresses that have been published by them, they have charged one another with a determination to protect speculators. "NO PECULATION" is written even upon the election carriages of Mr.

Byng. And, in short, it is quite impossible to say of them worse than they have said of each other. "Aye," will they reply, "but this is all *in the regiment*. We have a right to say what we please of each other; but you, the People, have nothing to do with the matter. It is not the *thing* that we dislike, but the *distribution* of it; and that remorseless man, Sir Francis Burdett, would *destroy the thing itself*."—Some persons, who acknowledge the *truth* of Sir Francis Burdett's address, and who are as great enemies as he is of abuses and corruption, doubt of the "policy" of speaking his sentiments so plainly just at this time. This doubt arises from want of due reflection. He has no "policy." He will never gain any point by policy. It would be contrary to his character to attempt it. To scorn all disguise, to speak the truth in defiance of clamour, these it is that have gained him all the political power that he possesses, and which he will convince the nation he wishes to possess daily for their good.—It is curious enough to observe, that *every* address, or speech, of his, from the first to the present, has for its time excited equal clamour. When a few lines come out from his closet, they have, upon the plundering tribe, an effect, in part at least, similar to that which is produced by quick lime-dust falling upon the backs of slugs or caterpillars. They twist, they writhe, they foam at the mouth; and, though they have not, as yet, begun to disgorge their prey, or to desist from their devourings, as the less callous vermin of the garden do in consequence of such an application, let us hope, that, in time, the similarity will be rendered complete.—The writer, whom I have quoted, anticipates an *expulsion* of Sir Francis from the House of Commons. The House of Commons will be found, whenever it meets, much too *wise*, even to hint at such a step. But, it is not amiss to observe, that this very writer, at the outset of the election, asserted, that there was not the least ground for fearing, that Sir Francis Burdett would be elected; when elected, the same writer asserted, that it was owing to the *contempt* in which the people held him; and that, as to the ministers, they wished him to be in parliament, because *there* he could do them no mischief, his talents being of that miserable cast that he must soon sink into nothingness. Now, however, this writer has found out, that it would be wise and just to expel him from parliament, and to throw him back again into that situation, "where he is *alone* able to do mischief." The truth is, that such men know not what to say.

The whole tribe of peculators, of every description, are thrown into alarm indescribable. And, well they may, for, from the day of his election, they may date their decline and fall. The Morning Chronicle said, that the dissolution of parliament could give no pleasure to any but "the *agitators* of Middlesex and Westminster." Not one, not a single soul of those persons, whom he had in his eye as agitators, has interfered, at all, in this election. It has been carried on by *the people* themselves. By the people alone. It was not until the *tenth* day of the election that Sir Francis Burdett heard that a poll was opened for him. Not one of his intimate friends meddled with the matter. And, with the exception of the letters written by me, who was, all the while, at seventy miles distance, and which letters, probably, had little or no effect, not one act was done by any man, who, by any fair construction, could possibly be deemed an agitator. The act was wholly an act of the people, originating in the suggestions of a few sensible men of fair reputation, who took the lead, and who were followed by the rest of the electors. No unfair means were resorted to. There was even no regular canvass. The committee told the people, in their advertisements, that the business was their own, and that, therefore, they should not *thank* them for their votes, while the other candidates sent round letters of thanks. In these advertisements there were no appeals to the passions. There were no revilings of any body. "You *know* Sir Francis Burdett, choose him if you will," was the substance of all that was said. The whole expenses of the election amounted to little more than *seven hundred pounds*! A considerable part of this sum came in *half crowns* and *shillings*. Let the hirelings cite an instance of the kind, if they can; and, if they cannot, let them hold their tongues. This election, let them be assured, is the beginning of a new era in the history of parliamentary representation; and my confident hope is, that it will lead to a restoration of that independance and purity in the House of Commons, without which it is impossible that we should be happy at home, or secure from abroad.—I should now, if I had room and time, go into some detail as to the parts which the *Sheridans* have, upon this occasion, played on the Covent Garden stage. But, to say the truth, their disgusting flatteries of those whom we may properly term the rabble; their nauseous praises of each other; their worse than mountebank wheedling of the prostitutes and bullies of the play-house pulchritudes;

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their base cringing to the committee of Sir Francis Burdett; their baser eulogies of him, and that, too, upon grounds, whereon they had formerly vilified him; their canting whine about Mr. Fox at the hustings, on whom they afterwards pronounced the severest satire at their dinner of fifty persons, from which dinner they did not depart without quarreling and absolute fighting; their despicable folly in the selection of their associates, and in their toasting of MR JOHN FROST, as if for the express purpose of leaving *no doubt* as to the means that had been employed in *procuring their votes*: all these being fresh in the minds of the public, it would be waste of time to descant upon them now, though it may hereafter be useful to keep alive the remembrance of them.—Of their last act, however, of folly and of meanness, I must take particular notice, first putting upon record the evidence of it, in an advertisement signed by the celebrated Peter Moore. —“Albany Tavern, Piccadilly, May 27. —At a very full Meeting of the Committee for conducting the Election of the Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to, PETER MOORE, Esq. M. P. in the Chair: Resolved, that owing to unforeseen circumstances, not at all to be attributed to Mr. Sheridan, and to the irresolution or change of mind in others; which not only prevented a timely canvass in his behalf, but occasioned, in consequence of incorrect representations made to him, his withdrawing his name on the day of nomination; the committee have deeply to regret, that the city of Westminster has not had an opportunity of returning the candidate, whose long tried public conduct, transcendent talents, disinterested patriotism, and uniform consistency of character, have endeared him to every true friend to the constitution, to the just prerogatives of the crown, and to the genuine cause of freedom and the people. —Resolved, That it is perfectly manifest, as well from the number of voters which would have been added to Mr. Sheridan's great majority on Saturday, but who were unable to poll on account of its not being generally known that the poll closed an hour sooner than on the preceding days, as well as owing to the manœuvres resorted to of administering an additional oath, evidently designed for the purpose of procrastination, that could the contest have been continued but even one day longer, Mr. Sheridan must have headed Lord Cochrane; and in this opinion the committee are the more fortified

“by the return that has been made of the disposition of every parish, all manifesting the most ardent spirit to have brought forward the whole of the immense strength still remaining unexhausted and unpledged, in support of Mr. Sheridan.—Resolved unanimously, That this committee still look to the day, and that they trust at no great distance, when the friends of the constitution, and to true liberty, may see their most earnest wishes accomplished, by the appeal to be made to parliament in behalf of Mr. Sheridan; and for the attainment of this important object, they pledge themselves, that no legal efforts or exertions shall on their parts be wanting.—Resolved, that the Committee, conducting the Election of the Right Hon R. B. Sheridan, continue to be of opinion, that it will be highly to the honour of the City of Westminster, that no part of the expence in the glorious cause which he has been called forth to support, should fall on Mr Sheridan; and, therefore, that the utmost exertions be forthwith made to promote the above most desirable object, so that a general subscription, as has been strongly recommended by numbers of respectable Electors, may be immediately set on foot.—Resolved, That the Committee for this purpose do consist of the Gentlemen present, together with such other persons, as they may please to add to their number; and with a power to appoint a Select Committee for matters of detail.—Resolved, That the sums to be received, be paid into the house of Messrs Alexander Davison!!! Noel, and Co. Bankers, Pall-Mall, and to be applied solely under the authority of the Treasurer and Committee to the expences of the late contest, to the expence of supporting the intended appeal to Parliament, and to such arrears as may yet remain, on account of the preceding election. Resolved, That the committee is convinced, that by an economical application of the money which shall be so raised, a very moderate fund will be sufficient to answer the purposes before proposed.—Resolved, that the thanks of the committee be given to Gerard Noel, Esq. M. P., for the honour he has done them in accepting the office of treasurer, and that no money be drawn for but by his order, nor applied but on the certificate of three members of the committee, such certificate to be lodged with the treasurer.—Resolved, That an account of the receipt of all sums to be received, be kept by the treasurer, subject to the inspection of the commit-

"tee and subscribers. Resolved, that the committee do communicate the above resolutions to the Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan, together with their best wishes for his success, and their ardent hope yet to hail him as their representative. — PETER MOORE, Chairman."

Whether Mr. Peter Moore would, if called upon, hereafter disclaim, upon oath, all knowledge of this advertisement, as he did all knowledge of the several advertisements, which appeared under his signature at the former election, I know not. This "numerous meeting" consisted of *thirteen persons*, including the two Sheridans, and Mr. John Frost. The only subscriber that is said to have appeared, as yet, is that celebrated matron, Mrs. Butler! As to the petition, of which the advertisement talks, nothing can be a more gross deception. There is no foundation for a petition; there is even no pretended foundation; the Sheridans well know, that it is impossible for any candidate to observe the laws of election more strictly than Lord Cochrane has observed them. He has conducted himself, in this respect, in a manner worthy of general imitation, and he despises, as all his friends do, the base and contemptible attempt here made to cast an aspersion upon his moral character. The subscription is to meet, amongst other things, "the arrears remaining on account of the preceding election!" The plain fact, is, that the subscription is intended to get money for Mr. Sheridan and the rest of the persons assembled. That is the object, and the sole object, and the means are truly worthy of those by whom they have been resorted to. But, this notable trick will, like all the others, assuredly fail. There will be no money, worth mentioning, raised. Not even enough to pay the expences of advertising. The whole is an impudent attempt at imposition, and that the public clearly perceives. Let the contrivers be prepared, however, for a revival of the subject. Let them expect that I shall call upon them for their "petition"; and, that, if they fail to prefer it, no pitiful subterfuge shall serve their turn. To bring upon them greater contempt than that to which they now are entitled, and receive, is impossible; but, it may be useful to keep it alive; and kept alive it shall be, if I have life. When the parliament has met we shall see what they do, and, until then, we may take our leave of them. We shall see, too, whether Mr. Sheridan is ready with his bills, which he had before prepared, for preventing the salaried magistrates from annoying the publicans who might give their votes against

ministerial candidates, and for preventing brewers from being the owners of public houses, thereby "insuring to the industrious mechanic wholesome porter at a reasonable rate." We shall see how he will fulfil this promise, which he evidently purloined from the Mayor of Garrat, when he comes to re-enter the House; we shall see how "the father of Tom Sheridan" will look, when he is called upon for the fulfilment of these new pledges; we have, however, I suspect, seen the last stage of the *Proteus's Progress*, starting from the "Walk in, Ladies and Gentlemen," at his father's recitations in Marlborough street; wriggling upwards, by degrees, through the fiddler's saloon and the green-room of the theatre, to the benches of the House of Commons; and, after various experiments in the art of sinking, going down for ever, side by side with John Frost, under the cry of "a Mug! a Mug!" from the hustings of Covent Garden.

The elections are nearly now over. The dissolution, which had one well-known purpose in view, on the part of those who advised it, will have answered many useful and even great purposes. It has humbled, and even broken down, the Whigs, that faction whose principle it is, that a few great families ought to rule both king and people. It has produced exposures innumerable. It has set many persons to thinking, who appear never to have thought before; and it must lead to important and durable consequences. — We have now to wait for the meeting of the new parliament, when we shall have before us the numerical proof of the independence of that body; and, in the meanwhile, we shall have leisure to turn our thoughts towards, and to discuss, subjects of foreign as well as of domestic policy. It is high time that we begin minutely to inquire into the causes which have produced the terrible effects, which we feel, and the more terrible effects which we dread. It is perfectly useless for us to waste our time in trifling disputes about who gets this place, or that pension. The great causes of our distresses of various sorts are alone the fit object of our inquiry; for, until those are ascertained, until those are clearly perceived and understood by the people at large, no effectual remedy can be applied. People may rail till they are hoarse against the addresses of Sir Francis Burdett; but, is there any man who will say, that some change of system is not become necessary? Is there any man who will say, that, with the present system of governing persevered in, he can see any possible way out of our present embarrassments? Is there any man who will say, that, in what

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ever company he falls, he does not find men, and all men, at a loss as to what is to become of the country? And, if this be the case, how can any man reasonably hope for national deliverance without a change of some sort or other in conducting the affairs of the nation? How base, how wicked, how diabolical is it, then, or, at least, how despicably foolish, to represent as an enemy to the king and to the country, every man, who proposes any thing wearing the appearance of a change of system? The king, above all others, is interested in such a change. He, above all others, must wish to see the country secure; and, is it not, therefore, truly abominable to hear the charge of disloyalty preferred against every man who expresses a wish to see changed the system, under the operation of which the kingdom has been brought into that state, which *every one acknowledges* to be a state of imminent peril?

—These questions I put to my readers. Let them duly reflect upon them; and I feel confident that the result of the reflection will be, a thorough conviction, that a change, a *great change* of system, especially with respect to the expenditure of the public money, that is to say, the *employment of the resources of the nation*, must take place, or, that we are not yet arrived at a thousandth part of our calamities and disgrace. I beseech these readers to bear in mind, that, though the two contending factions may complain of one another, though they may accuse, and have accused, one another to the country, *they have nobody else to accuse*. Between them they have had all the powers of the state, all the resources of the nation, in their hands. They have been the complete masters of them. They have had no insurrections, no denials, to obstruct them. Sir Francis Burdett has had no part in any thing that they have done, or in any thing that has happened to the country. Perils they tell us we are in; but, they are quite unable to show us, that any body but themselves have caused those perils. Again, therefore, I ask, how diabolical is it to endeavour to turn the resentment of the people upon those who wish for a *change of system*?

LETTER TO LORD MILTON.

At this moment of joy and exultation in the fair prospect of success, I presume to offer myself to your lordship's notice.—My Lord, it has seldom been the lot of any young man to enter into life with such fair prospects as those you possess. Every thing that is desirable in life is yours; domestic happiness; rank; riches; and, above all, the power of being the Saviour of your

Country. In a very little time you must make your election, whether you will play the truly great part, or you will chuse to fall into the ranks of a despised and sinking party.—If you follow the footsteps of your noble ancestor, the Marquis of Rockingham, you will soon find yourself in possession of a station more commanding than was ever held by either Fox or Pitt; you will find yourself at the head of a party which will soon consign all others to their merited contempt. The energy you have shown, in deciding upon this contest, makes me hope the best from your future conduct.—If you determine to be the Man of the People, instantly come forward and pledge yourself before your constituents, explicitly and unequivocally, to the measures which are necessary to save your country. Pledge yourself to a moderate and temperate Parliamentary Reform, pledge yourself to a repeal of that detested act which (contrary to the Constitution of 1688) re-permitted Placemen and Pensioners to sit and vote in the House of Commons; in short, pledge yourself to a renewal of our old and excellent Constitution. In your pledges forget not the great Delinquents of India, the Peculators at home, or the miseries of the unhappy Peasantry of Ireland. Act thus, in the face of your constituents, with your native candour and ingenuousness;—you will then possess the public confidence, and lay a firm foundation for your future greatness.—You must not expect that this is a smooth path: you will instantly be assailed by all the venal, jobbing tribe. The time will shortly come, when, like the ocean's rock, you must resist the shock of contending elements; then you must prepare to stand, and that perhaps alone, amidst the whirlwind and direct the storm; then it may be for you with nervous arm to stem the torrent of a maddened People; then you may be the man to save the People, Peerage, and the Crown. Unhappy France! hadst thou possessed but one such man, what misery had been saved! —Place your dependance on the People: your father has experienced and can tell you how vain the smiles of courtiers are! If they can get you to disgrace yourself, they will think they have you safe, and they will be right. Take care lest they “Drag You thro’ the Dirt.” They will call you Jacobin. A great Nobleman a Jacobin!!!

“Stedfast and true to Virtue’s sacred laws,
Unmoved by vulgar censure or applause.
Let the world talk, my Friend, that world we know
Which calls us guilty, cannot make us so.”

Believe me, my Lord, the best Security for the Privileges of the Peerage is the Love of the People; when you are supporting

our rights, you are enlisting millions to defend your future Coronet. Beware the cringing fawning sycophantic crowd, beware the cunning Priest, beware their half measures which lead to ruin. Think and act for yourself. Come forward to your constituents with honest pledges which cannot be forgotten, and I prophesy you shall be hailed the Saviour of your Country. For God sake take care, my Lord; you must act; the critical moment is come, when you must decide for your future life; whether you will sink amongst the Crowd and be forgotten, or you will determine to be great amongst the greatest of your fellow-men. I remain my Lord, (at present) with enthusiastic admiration of your youthful talents and virtues, A YORKSHIRE FREEHOLDER.—*May 23, 1807.*

POOR LAWS.—MR. MALTHUS.
Being C. S.'s Second Letter.

SIR,—As I have thought a good deal, not only on the laws which multiply the poor, but also on those which have a tendency to diminish their number; and as the value of these thoughts is greatly enhanced by the readiness with which you have often given them insertion in the Political Register, I feel encouraged to offer a few remarks upon the controversy which has appeared in your work, between your correspondents W. F. S. and A. O. on the subject of Mr. Malthus's check population doctrine. I have to observe, of all three, that could they persuade themselves to attend less to the theoretical and more to the practical causes of social wretchedness, they would have deserved better of their country; or, at least, stood higher in the esteem of those who are of opinion, that it would be wrong in Mr. Malthus, or any other, to suffer evils to continue which can be removed, because the time may come when others of equal or more malignancy will occupy their place. Those who are averse to improvement, if such there be, secure the continuance of abuse in proportion as they succeed in dividing its friends on the means of reform. And whether they be averse to it or no, the effect is the same if by abstract reasoning or any other means, they should divide opinion as to the practical means of removing existing grievances. I am, therefore, in heart and in soul, in head and in understanding, as much disposed to censure the judgment which will not do good lest evil should come of it, as I am inclined to abhor that cast of mind which will do evil that good may follow. There are cases in which the maxim, and the sacred maxim too, of "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof," strictly ap-

plies; and, surely, if it can do so more in any one case than another, it must be in that *when the surface and fertility of the earth cease, as our philosopher predicts they will, to be sufficient to maintain the number of its inhabitants with the necessities of life.* The consequent famine and vice of this, to me, imaginary æra, are the evils against which the philosophy and philanthropy of our divine author would have us guard;—if his book has any other object than the mere display of his own theoretical researches. And as he has not, to my knowledge, specified either the number or description of the immediate evils to which it is *not* necessary for us to submit, to avert the remote calamities which he predicts, the conclusion, I think, is, that he justifies, not only the full practice of all the evils of which our senses and reason compel us to complain as unnecessary, if our oppressors would but do as they would be done by, but also, the greater evil on every principle of moral and political justice that we have been taught of suffocating, as it were, in the womb of their parents, a given number of every succeeding generation. Surely, Sir, were it even mathematically certain, that the time would come when the application of a remedy so outrageous to all our settled notions of moral justice and sound policy, presented itself as the least of two evils, it is time enough to suggest it when a symptom of the evil to which it applies makes its appearance; or, in other terms, when the whole surface of the earth is so far cultivated, and well cultivated too, as to leave no room for farther improvement. But, if Mr. Malthus's doctrine be new in the annals of political economy, W. F. S.'s mode of supporting it is not less modern in the art of reasoning. "The important position" says he, "laid down, and on which Mr. Malthus's system is chiefly founded, is that, by the immutable law of nature there is a constant disposition in the human species to increase beyond the means of subsistence. This is the position, therefore, Sir, that I call upon A. O. to controvert; for, if it be irrefragable, then it must follow, *ex necessitate*, that unless this tendency to increase be by some means or other prevented or checked, that at some period or other the means of subsistence must be deficient; and that that deficiency will be in proportion to the increase of population: and as scarcity increases and poverty makes its appearance, its attendants, misery and vice, must be proportionally multiplied." These are positions which it is not necessary to controvert before we deny credit to the conclusions they contain. For instance, it may be in-

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sisted upon, that the moon is made of green cheese, and that by the attraction of its gravity it is coming nearer and nearer to the earth, and who can controvert the positions, since there is nothing impossible to the infinite powers of the Great Author of nature; but, are we, therefore, called upon to admit the conclusion? Namely, that the time will come when every man can reach the moon and cut a slice for himself; and, therefore, when dairy farms are no farther necessary than barely to supply us with butter to our bread, and cream to our tea? No, Sir, according to the rules of our courts of law, and I believe of common sense, it is those who lay down positions, or make charges, that are bound to prove the truth of them, and not those who deny or question it. According, then, to these rules, and admitting, for the sake of argument, that the ideas of the moon being made of green cheese, and the assertion that the time will come when the surface of the earth will prove insufficient to supply its inhabitants, are *not equally* visionary ideas, or the fictions of a disordered imagination, it is Mr. Malthus and the advocates of his position that are bound to prove the truth of it, and not us who question it; and who, if we did not question it, deny the necessity of applying the remedy which they propose, *virtual murder*, while one half of the earth, perhaps, remains yet uncultivated: though it has been near 6000 years in cultivation, according to our own calculation of years, and near 6000 years more, if we reckon by the Chinese estimate of time. It appears to me, Sir, who have not seen the data of their calculation, that they have but only one way in which they can prove the truth of their position; and that is, by stating, upon unquestionable grounds, the number of inhabitants that occupied the earth 6000 or 12,000 years ago, or at some distant period, and that of its present population. And how they can make out such statement, deficient, as I conceive, they must be of the necessary records, and ignorant, as I think they are, even of the present population of Asia, Africa, and America, with that of the islands to them belonging, I am totally at a loss even to conjecture. But, if they could make out such statement, I hope, Mr. Cobbett, it would be labour lost upon you and I; because, I trust, you agree with me that the case which they might thereby make out is one of those in which the maxim applies of "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof;" that it is time enough to act upon the principle which, in such case, they lay down, when a symptom of the evil to which it applies as a remedy, makes its appearance; and that there are many evils pressing

themselves upon us, both individually and collectively considered, which require no other principle to remove them, than that our oppressors should do to us as they would be done by us, thinking and feeling as we feel and think. These evils are numerous, Sir, and at the hazard of subjecting myself to the humoursome animadversions of your old Harlequin, or Punch, *the Morning Post*. I compare them to as many individuals who throw a stone each into a heap, upon the back of the party who provides for their wants; and that heap I again compare to the number of idlers who subsist upon the labour of the industrious; and, then I conclude, that no principle can ease the industrious of the burden, but that which compels the idlers to support themselves, by its conversion of them into useful labourers. The simile may be low, but is the logic false? The argument, however, as a rule of action in the removal of them, is incomplete till all the evils which fix an idler on the shoulders of the industrious are collectively and individually specified. Collectively, they may be expressed in few words, *luxury*, and the *ability* to command it, if it be not a distinction without a difference. But, individually viewed they are so numerous, and spring so out of each other, that I shall only attempt a definition of the few which, in my former communications to you, I have so often described; and which I shall as often point out, as I may meet with schemes, such as those of Mr. Whitbread's, that are either useless or injurious as they affect the state of the poor, and operate against the security of my country, as it rests exclusively upon the loyalty, industry, and comfort of the lower and middling classes of the people, and not *in any degree* upon those of the idlers who necessarily reduce them to poverty, wretchedness, and discontent. The most remote of the evils to which I allude, and, perhaps, the parent of them all, is the monopoly of land, or, rather, the extent to which the monopoly is carried; for I am no advocate for Agrarian laws. Out of this evil as many idlers arise as there are large proprietors, large occupiers, and individuals employed to furnish them with the ease and luxury which they enjoy, such as men-milliners, pastry-cooks, livery servants, &c. &c. who, though they labour, contribute nothing towards the prevention of that famine which alarms Mr. Malthus, but much towards the vice which he dreads. II. The "*freedom of trade*, or, *the right of every man to do as he pleases with his own property*." I mean the less than a tenth of it which is not yet taken from him in tythes, taxes, and poor's rate. For I have submitted to Mr. Fox, that de-

ducting these imposts from the whole income of the nation as stated by Lord Sidmouth, when he introduced the property tax, one-tenth of it is not left to the proprietors, and the labourers that create it. (Vide Political Register, 19th April, 1806). Out of this evil as many idlers arise, as gain their subsistence by speculation, monopoly, forestalling, and regrating; and as are employed by them in the capacities of *men-milliners*, &c. &c. &c. III. Taxes and tythes: out of those evils as many idlers arise as form our fat list of doctors; our lean list of curates; our long list of placemen and pensioners; our intolerable swarm of tax-gatherers, excise, and custom-house officers; our immense naval and military establishments; the immenser number still to whom all of them put together give employment, as men-milliners, women-tailors, boot and shoe-makers, epaulet and accoutrement-makers, gun-smiths, lock-smiths, cooks, confectioners, servants, &c. &c.; and the million and a half, that are doomed to receive their scanty allowance from the cold hands of parochial and accidental charity. And IV. The National Debt. To apply its proper remedy to this evil, it is as necessary to know its rise and progress, as it is to be acquainted with the result of it. It originates in the *freedom of trade*, and the *boasted* right of every man to do as *he pleases* with his *own property*. In consequence of this freedom every man secures to himself what he can, no matter how, if he will not violate the *cobweb* laws that modify the freedom. In virtue of this right they charge what they please for what they are free to secure. And as they are pleased to charge for it more than they want for immediate use, they lend the surplus to the ministers for the time being; who, in gratitude for the ease with which it enables them to promote the welfare of the nation by pensioning their friends, and persecuting their enemies, come in their turn, upon the very party so charged for interest to the loan-mongers, upon the very surplus which was thus *freely* and *rightly* extorted from them by the loan-mongers. The action and reaction of the national debt, then, must create as many idlers as subsist upon its interest, and the annual loans which form its capital; as are employed in stock-jobbing and stock-broking, that is, in buying and selling as many of their fellow subjects and fellow creatures as furnish not only the necessities that they consume, but the ease and luxuries in which they indulge themselves; and who, as dealers in luxury and furnishers of ease, though they do labour, and labour hard too, contribute nothing, as before observed, towards the maintenance of them-

selves, or the prevention of the famine, to guard against which, Mr. Malthus would check the population, and seemingly justify the pauper system, paper system, and all the other systems of which instinct itself compels us to complain. From these different sources of idleness, allowing for infants, aged and infirm, I have calculated that about four-fifths of the population of England and Wales, are literally idlers, exclusive of the labouring idlers that are employed in the production of luxury, and to whom luxury gives employment*. And knowing from the statistical reports of the agricultural society, that there are above 51,000,000 of acres of land in cultivation in Great Britain, which had they not been wasted, to a great extent, in parks, pleasure-grounds, and pasture for mere animals of pleasure, might be made, perhaps, to maintain as many inhabitants; and that there are above 73,000,000 of acres more uncultivated, which, with proper management, might, probably, be made to maintain as many more, I am not only of opinion, that none but a madman like Brothers would even allude to the time when we ought to murder our children to save them from starving, but that no human scheme can better the condition of the poor, but that which will convert idlers into useful labourers, and furnish them with land to labour upon. W. F. S. will certainly set me down either as a member of the Virtue Rewarding Society at Lloyd's, or of the Vice Suppressing Society in Bell Yard; but, I can assure him, I am neither one nor the other. I never was at Lloyd's but once, and then I had my pocket picked; and as to the suppression of vice, the little time I have to spare after suppressing my own, I generally employ it in endeavouring to suppress the most unparalleled, and parent vices of the political system which both the societies cherish and support, as the most singular and amiable of virtues: virtues which none but jacobins and levellers durst call in question. "Who, in the name of good luck are you then?" I think I hear him say. I shan't tell him, but I'll state how I have been used. I have kept a house; for Mr. Fox's financial schemes would not suffer the house to keep me; and, therefore, they sent me to the first floor; and without giving me time to crawl to the second floor, and from the second floor to the garret, where authors generally starve, they plunged me at once headlong into the Cellar, not 100 miles from the Morning Post, where I date this letter on the 22d of May, 1807.—C. S.

* Vide Political Register, 23d Aug. 1806, for the data.